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ARTICLE III.

MULAMULI,

OR.

THE BUDDHIST GENESIS

OF

EASTERN INDIA,

FROM THE SHAN, THROUGH THE TALAING AND BURMAN.

BY

REV. FRANCIS MASON, M.D.,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION IN BURMA.

(Read October 14, 1852.)

MULAMULI.

Were Italian popery, English puritanism, and German rationalism given, to find apostolic Christianity, the problem would be like that of determining primitive Buddhism from its present phases in Ceylon, Thibet and Eastern India. It were as easy, from the present Fauna and Flora of the earth, to determine its Fauna and Flora in the cretaceous, oolitic, or carboniferous age.

In Asoka's edicts, there is nothing recognized superior to the Law. No idol-worship is enjoined, no god or saint invoked;* and the missionary has now to argue with Buddhists who put the Law in the place of the Supreme God, and who believe that Gautama was inspired in no sense superior to that in which Göthe attributed inspiration to Byron. Buddhist inscriptions subsequent to the age of Asoka, commence with: "Glory to the Arahatas"—those who have been perfected by the Law; then: "Glory to Buddha—Glory to the Law—Glory to Indra;" and finally: "Glory to Bhagavat," the form now in use.

Law is the origin of all things in the following article, which has been abridged from a small volume that purports to have been translated into Talaing from the Shan language, at Labong, + A. D. 1768. It was, however, originally written

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^{*} One passage Prinsep translated, with some doubt: "Worship ye the lord, the proper object of worship." He founded his rendering on Isa, or Isana, being the Pali form of Isaara; but in all the Pali that I have read it is written Isara, or Ishara; and the usage of the pillar-Pali would lead us to expect the v to be retained in the name, as in Sanskrit, although in the Pali of books it is, in such compounds, usually omitted: e.g. sweta, white, is, in the inscriptions, the same as the Sanskrit, although in the Pali of books the word is written seta. Moreover, Ishara is never applied to Gautama, but is used as a synonym of Siva, who, with the other Hindû gods, is regarded as vastly inferior to Buddha.

[†] Labong is a city in the Shan States, on a branch of the Meinam river, in about lat. 18° 46′ N., and long. 99° 30′ E., according to Major Macleod, who visited the place a few years ago.

in Pali, for portions of the Pali text accompany the vernacular version. The language differs from the Pali of Burman books enough to prove them the work of different authors. In this work, the earth is most usually called sundari, while in Burman Pali patavi is more common; the elephant is gajja, but in Burman Pali, hatti;* and the king of the second deva-heavens is Inda,† but in Burman Pali Sakka;‡ with other variations of a similar character.

The development-hypothesis of the French philosophers has been traced to the Greeks; and here, in the origin of the mineral and vegetable kingdoms, the same doctrine is presented by the Buddhists. It probably had its origin where the Indo-European languages were first spoken, for it has clearly accompanied them in their migrations, both East and West. The male and female creators, here emanating from the elements, resemble the first Eons of the Gnostics, which were produced by the Bythos; but are perhaps more nearly allied to some of the myths in the Puranas. The system here taught is quite different from any thing that has hitherto proceeded from Ceylon, or Eastern India, but approaches, in some of its features, to the Buddhism of Thibet, yet is materially different. Moreover, as the originals of the Thibetian books are Sanskrit, while this book was first written in Pali, it cannot have been introduced from the North. The Singalese books were nearly all destroyed in the sixteenth century, and the Burmese, Talaing and Tai libraries have been so imperfectly examined, that nothing can be argued from our previous ignorance that such works existed.

 \dagger The Indra of Sanskrit, r being dropped in Pali, as is usual in such compounds.

^{*} In the Pali of Asoka's edicts, this word is hasti, as in Sanskrit; but I have never met with this form in Pali books.

[†] This is the same word, in the original, as Turnour's Sakko. See Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for Sept. 1837, page 718. I write Pali names in the uninflected form, and this is the usual practice with Sanskrit scholars; but Turnour writes his names inflected for the nominative case. The o is affixed to the ground-form, to form the nominative singular of most nouns masculine with final a. This mode of writing has led European and American scholars to make a distinction between Sanskrit and Pali words, where no distinction exists. Thus, Asoko in Pali, when denuded of its inflection, becomes Asoka, as in Sanskrit; Suddhodano becomes Suddhodana; Tavatinso becomes Tavatinsa; and so in a multitude of other instances.

The Mulamuli* opens with the statement that, when Gautama, soon after he attained the Buddhahood, preached to his followers in Pali, they found it difficult to understand him; but one of them, the great Kachchanya, prepared a Pali grammar which enabled them to understand his language with facility.† When Kondanya‡ expressed his satisfaction with the grammatical principles evinced, Gautama replied: "Kondanya! the law which Kachchanya has followed, is not his own. It is a natural law, that has descended, generation after generation, from the days of the Buddha Tikkhagga, at the beginning of the world." Kondanya then expressed a desire that Gautama would inform them of the origin of the universe; and he responded in an uninterrupted discourse which occupies the volume under consideration.

"What was the first thing?" he asked. "Law. What law? The law of progress. Kondanya! before this mundane world came into existence, there were no bramhas, no devas, no men, no beasts, no earth, no fire, no air, no trees, no grass, nothing whatever; all was emptiness. The first things that came into existence, were the cold and hot seasons. They appeared simultaneously, and were succeeded by a wind blowing unceasingly." The air increased until a mass was accumulated, nine millions six hundred thousand miles thick; when water appeared, which went on increasing till it covered the air to the depth of four millions eight

* From mùla, root, origin, beginning; because the work thus named treats of the beginning of things.

[†] This shows that the Pali was not regarded by the writer as the vernacular language of Magadha. The grammar reputed to have been written by Kachchanya, still exists. I had a copy made from the palm-leaf, on small quarto paper, and the Pali text occupies between two and three hundred pages, while the Burmese interpretation covers more than two thousand. I made a compendium of the whole Pali and English, a few years ago, on the model of European Grammars, which might be printed in one or two hundred pages, and convey all the information contained in the two or three thousand in manuscript.

[‡] The Kondanno of Turnour, one of Gautama's first converts after he reached the Buddhahood, and the only Brahman who recognized, in the infant son of king Suddhodana, the signs of a Buddha. In all the Pali I have read, where this name occurs, the last consonant is \bar{n} , which I represent by ny as pronounced in Burmah.

[§] The Pali word is *bhava*, sometimes rendered *nature*; but the vernacular translation is like my English rendering.

^{||} The yojana of the text, which is variously estimated at from four to twelve miles, for the convenience of round numbers, I render by ten miles, throughout this article.

hundred thousand miles. From the water a vapor began to arise, which afterwards fell in rain. The dry season dried up the rain, and earth appeared, which increased until it was two millions four hundred thousand miles thick. The earth had a disposition to produce stones or minerals, and the eres of silver, gold, iron, tin and copper appeared, together with the various precious stones. On the gold ore, the first appearances of vegetation were seen, in the form of green mucous slime, or brittleworts,* which were followed by the grasses, and by the other plants of the vegetable

kingdom, in succession.

The four elements had an inclination to produce living beings, the first of which were earth-worms and maggots, the product of earth. Air gave birth to numerous insects; fire to fire-flies; and water to innumerable water-insects. These animals had life, but they had neither understanding nor spirit. For an asankhyeya† of kalpas, they continued to be born and die, when they began to increase slightly in intelligence; and, after an equal number of kalpas had elapsed, animals with bones first appeared. Still they were small, the largest not larger than the grub of the wevil that eats the areca-nut; their bones were of the size of fine grassstems, and they were quite destitute of blood. These continued to be born and die for a thousand asankhyeyas of kalpas. At the termination of this period, the element earth, with the disposition to the feminine form, produced a female who was called *Ihtangeyyasangasi*. This woman lived on the odor of flowers; and at this period the earth was so abundantly covered with grass and trees, that it was difficult to move about, to lie down, or to rise up. Then the woman said to herself: "'Trees and grasses are very numer-It is very difficult for me to come and go. It would be a good thing for me to create forms, # and cause them to

^{*} Diatomaceæ. See Lindley's Vegetable Kingdom, page 12.

[†] This being a neuter noun, the nominative singular is made by affixing n, as, asankhyeyan, the form used by Turnour, who calls it an "incalculable period," which the etymology seems to justify. Kachchanya the grammarian, however, says that it is the number designated by a unit with twenty-five ciphers affixed. Another authority says that the seven ciphers of a crore, the highest number for which there is any proper designation, must be multiplied by twenty, and that the product, one hundred and forty cyphers, appended to the unit, constitutes an asankhyeya.

[†] The Pali word is rupa, and, like the corresponding Sanskrit rùpa, admits of various renderings. It sometimes occurs in the Pali text where it is not rendered in the vernacular version, e.g.: Tada tejodhatuya purisa rupa upaj-

devour the trees and grasses.' Thus saying, she took earth and brittleworts, and made two forms of various races of animals, the one male, the other female." She next inserted in the hearts of these forms a disposition, or nature, for existence, and a grub or caterpillar was produced in each; and they became living beings. To these animals she gave names which are Pali; and "this is the language that existed anterior to the first of the Buddhas; but, when they appeared, each one spoke this language, down to the last." One hundred thousand species of land-animals, and seventy thousand species of fish, are said to have been created. These increased in individuals, by hundreds, and thousands, and tens of thousands, until they became exceedingly numerous; and, in consequence of their devouring the herbage and trees, the earth was almost denuded of vegetation. Nothing came to flower or fruit, and the woman sought and obtained with difficulty the odor of flowers on which to subsist. "Then she said to herself: 'They are astonishingly abundant! They have eaten up trees and bamboos, flowers and fruits, without leaving a fragment. What shall I do? It would be a good thing were they to die, and afterwards come to life again." Thus she thought for eighty-four thousand kalpas; and after they had elapsed, the element fire produced in another place a male. His name was Pusangeyyasangasi. When this man saw the different animals going to and fro on the earth, and enjoying themselves as they chose, he thought to himself: "These forms are of one mind, and enjoy themselves in each other's society. Is there any form of being like myself?' He went wandering about, and met with the woman. When he saw her, he drew near; but she, observing him approach, said: 'Why dost thou come to me?' He replied: 'I come to make thee my friend and associate.' The woman continued: 'Hast thou wisdom to devise one thing? Without that, thou canst not become my associate.' The man answered: 'Speak the thing that is to be done, and I will consider it.' The woman then said: 'These forms created from the four

janti anya padese pusangeyyasangasi nama puriso, i. e. "Then, from the element fire, a male was produced in another place. Pusangeyyasangasi was the name of the male."

Upaja does not appear as a verb in Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary, but it is common in Pali, conjugated like the seventh conjugation in Sanskrit, by the insertion of n between the root and terminations.

elements with a nature for existence—canst thou devise any way in which they may repeatedly die, and repeatedly come to life again, and not live continually?". After considering the subject eighty-four thousand kalpas, the man "understood the mind of the woman;" and said: "If from the three sexual natures, and the four elements, a male, a female and a neuter be created, men, generation after generation, will increase in wisdom, and will be able to put an end to the beasts." When the woman heard these words, she thought he had spoken well, was pleased, and remained After the two had remained together for a period, the man went and brought the four embryo elements* to the woman, with as much of the element of glory as a grain of mustard-seed. The woman took the embryo elements, and preparing them with clay and brittleworts, made three human forms, "one a neuter, one a female, and one a male. She inserted the element earth to give stability, the element fire to give strength, the element water to give beauty, the element air to produce joy, the faculty of seeing to distinguish forms, and the faculty of understanding to know sensations." Finally, she inserted a disposition, or nature, for spirit, which produced grubs or caterpillars; in the abdomen; which in ten months brought living human beings, male, female and neuter.

These human beings soon became sick, when their creators consulted together, and decided that the seasons coming all together was the cause; so they separated them, and gave to each its appropriate period. This afforded relief, but they were thin, and then the rice-plant was created for them.

Afterwards, the creators thought: "These people of ours have nothing to mark time. Let us prepare for them something to distinguish days and months." Then they made a large elephant. "The body was black like a black man,

^{*} Four bhavya, Sanskrit bhavya, what is to be.

 $[\]dagger$ The Pali word is si, which $\check{\mathbf{I}}$ derive from sri. I am not confident of the rendering given to this word, nor of that of the preceding one noted. I have never met with either, before, and they are not understood by the natives.

[‡] It is a popular superstition with the Burmese, that the soul escapes from man at death in the form of a butterfly. This is precisely what the Greeks said of the Ψυχή. "Among the ancients, when a man expired, a butterfly appeared fluttering above, as if rising from the mouth of the deceased." That the Greeks and the Burmese have here drawn from a common origin, is placed beyond doubt.

the feet and legs were white and shining like silver, the tusks were red with the glow of the ruby, the head resembled gold, and the trunk was like the sapphire-feathers of the roller."* Its length was four hundred and ninety thousand miles, and it fed on air and water. On its back they placed mount Meru, and put it in the midst of the ocean. "Mount Meru sinks in the ocean seven millions two hundred thousand miles, and rises the same above it, in height." Then they made the twelve signs, the moon, and the twenty-seven lunar mansions.† Next, they created the sun, and caused it to revolve around mount Meru to give light; and for the moon they made a silver palace in the form of an apple-shell.‡ "Half way up mount Meru, they placed the first deva-heavens, and on the summit Tavatinsa, the second deva-heavens.

The human beings then grew, and had three children. The woman took great pleasure in the male, and watched over him, but had no regard for the neuter; and the neuter became envious of the happiness of the man and his wife, and killed When the woman saw her husband die, she was unhappy, and took the body and laid it in a retired spot, alone, where she daily carried it food, until it had completely decayed. After the body was consumed, she placed by the spot a piece of wood, and set it up for a monument; and daily carried to it food. The woman and the neuter died in turn, and the children treated their mother as she had her husband, but neglected the neuter. These three children had thirteen children of their own, six boys and seven girls, the neuter not being continued. These children, when they observed different animals, made various exclamations, which became the first language of men, and this is stated to be the language of Magadha. Subsequently, the people

^{*} Coracias affinis, often called the blue jay; but roller is its proper English name.

[†] The names of the signs of the zodiac are the same in Pali as they are in Sanskrit, Arabic and Greek. The names of the lunar mansions agree with the Sanskrit, but differ from the Arabic. However, the word which denotes an asterism or lunar mansion, nakkhata, Sanskrit nakshatra, is probably of similar origin with the Arabic המול, menzil, and the Hebrew, mazzal, and המול, mazzar; though Gesenius, erroneously in my opinion, defines the Hebrew words in the plural, by "the twelve signs of the zodiac."

[†] Ampullaria. § The specimens given are not Pali.

were sick, and the creators said to each other: 'The sons of the world are sick and dying, and there are none to assist them. It would be a good thing to make planets to prevent their being entirely destroyed.'" Then they formed palaces from the four elements, and set them with the planets within them in the zodiac.*

At this time, all men lived in peace. They eat, drank and worked in perfect harmony; and they soon began to kill animals both of the land and water, to support life. "For there was no one to teach them the distinction between meritorious and unmeritorious deeds."

When the two creators looked on, and considered the mundane world, they were alarmed, for they saw that men at death, in consequence of killing animals, were conceived in the bodies of brutes. Then, by means of the four elements, they attached intellectual births to various fruit-trees; and persons who eat of the fruit produced children with virtuous affections. From this period divisions arose; for some men had evil hearts, and some good ones. After men had become very numerous, persons with good dispositions were very scarce, while the wicked abounded; and knowing not the distinctions between good and evil, at death they went to hell. "Hell was not created by any one, but was developed by unmeritorious works. The fire of the angry mind produces the fire of hell, and consumes its possessor. When a person does evil, he lights the fire of hell, and burns with his own fire. A wicked person causes the deeds that he performs with the six organs, seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, feeling and thinking, to impinge upon himself; which at all times and in all places produces hell."

At this time, there was one good man, an orphan, and no one would show him hospitality; so he took up his abode under a lone hopea-tree, where he wept because he was friendless; and ultimately he became a hermit, repented of his sins, "knew himself," cultivated virtuous affections, and at death became the first deva, or guardian spirit, of trees. A few others obtained sufficient merit to become devas of trees, but the great mass of mankind went to hell, and were consumed in flames. Then the two creators said to each

^{*} Here the astrological views of the writer appear. Astrology continues to be in as much favor with the Burmese as it was in Europe in the dark ages; and the diagram they make, when they cast the horoscope, is precisely the same as that seen in all English books on astrology.

other: "This kalpa has endured very long indeed, and yet no one has appeared with sufficient moral power to bring it to an end, as we anticipated. Let us destroy the world by the element fire, and, after these people have died, the next that come will increase in wisdom and virtue." Then they made the sixteen bramha-heavens for a place of refuge, and created an immense elephant. When it held in its breath, there was neither rain nor dew, and the whole earth was dried up as if it had been burned. "Then men feared death, and an impulse was given to the law of love and compassion; so that when men died they ascended to the bramha-heavens.

A large measure of the element fire was infused into the palace of the moon; the sun could not keep its place, and came in contact with the moon; and the burning sun impinged on the planets, till the whole universe was one entire conflagration, and all was burned up below the bramhaheavens. Then the elephant breathed out, and the rain descended, and extinguished the fire.

The remaining portion of the volume is occupied with stories to illustrate the gradual development of moral principles, from the smallest of meritorious acts, up to the period in which there was sufficient moral power in the world to produce a Buddha.

After a hundred thousand kalpas had been destroyed by fire, the orphan, who had been king of the second devaheavens, was again born on earth, where the people were still ignorant of moral principles; but he possessed so virtuous a mind that he kept himself from taking life, from theft, from adultery, from speaking falsehood, and from drinking intoxicating liquors; and at death he went to the bramha-heavens.

When more than ten thousand kalpas had passed away since he ascended to the bramhas, the soul of the poor orphan who became the first deva of trees, was again in a human form; and his son astonished his relatives and friends, by talking when he was first born. They exclaimed: "He speaks the language of grown men. He is a remarkable child; much is to be expected of him. We will call him Pratyeka.**

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^{*} I have adopted the Sanskrit form Pratyeka, because the word has been anglicised, and it is undesirable to have two forms for the same word. Other-15

Buddha." He realized their expectations, and became a Pratyeka-Buddha; which is defined: "One with power to discern the past, the present, and the future, of the single kalpa in which he appears," in distinction from a full Bud-

dha, who has all knowledge of all kalpas.

After one of these Pratyeka-Buddhas had appeared, they gradually increased in number. "In some kalpas, there would be one, in others two, in others three, in others ten, in others a hundred, and in others a thousand. Ten thousand kalpas and one hundred thousand asankhyeyas of years had elapsed, after the appearance of the first Pratyeka-Buddha, when a pious man was born on earth, who in his various transmigrations had met with eight hundred and twenty-five thousand Pratyeka-Buddhas. He remembered his former states, but could not enumerate the number of times he had been a king, a poor man, a beast, or an inhabitant of hell. He said: 'A hundred thousand years of the highest happiness on earth are not equal to the happiness of one day in the deva-heavens; and a hundred thousand years of misery on earth are not equal to one day of misery in hell; and the misery of hell is not enumerated by days, but by kalpas. How shall I escape hell, and obtain eternal bliss?' He remained in meditation unceasingly, and when he saw his parents give rice to a Pratyeka-Buddha, he thought to himself: 'How often, in former states, have I given away gold, silver, slaves, buffaloes, oxen, elephants, and horses. These offerings have no power to destroy births. They are external offerings. I will make an internal offering. I will present my body a burnt offering.' He gave away his wife and children to beggars, and offered himself a burnt offering to the Pratyeka-Buddha. After eighty asankhyeyas of years, and seventy kalpas more, had passed away, he was born again on earth, having often, in the interval, "made the living offering; and having met with two hundred and eighty millions of Pratyeka-Buddhas." He lived a hermit, repeating the sacred sentences, and at death went to the bramha-heavens.

wise, the Pali Pachche would have been used. I derive it from prati, instead of, and eka, one, i. e. one instead of, or a substitute for Buddha. M. Rémusat renders: "a separate or distinct Buddha"—a signification unsuitable to the usage of the word in this article.

Passing over several other episodes, the Suvarna-kalpa, or golden age, is reached. At this time, "beasts spoke the language of men, and when the trees were questioned they made answer." In this age, lived Tikkhagga, the son of a king, who, when he was four thousand years of age, became a hermit, and dwelt two hundred years under a butea-tree, two hundred more under a shorea-tree, two hundred more under a banyan-tree,* and so on till he had made the circle of twenty-five different trees. By self-denial for five thousand years, in these twenty-five different places, he obtained infinite knowledge, while seated under the last one, a Buchanania latifolia.+

"At the instant of becoming God, he exclaimed with joy: 'Aneka jati sansaran!' i. e. 'Not one more mundane birth!' Then the devas and bramhas saw the wonderful glory which illuminated the ten thousand systems, and all assembled in the presence of this most excellent divinity, and said to him: 'Thou who excellest all devas and bramhas, what is thy name?' 'My name,' he replied, 'is Infinite Knowledge.'

^{*} Ficus indica, Pali nigrodha, Sanskrit nyagrodha. Some authors erroneously identify the tree under which Gautama was perfected with the banyan, but that in Pali is bodi, Sanskrit bhodhi, the pipal, Ficus religiosa. Kasyapa, the Buddha said to have immediately preceded Gautama, was perfected under a banyan; and the two trees are always distinguished in the Burmese translations, as well as in the Pali text. In practice, however, the Buddhists are not very particular. Ficus cordifolia is substituted for the pipal throughout these Provinces, and is regarded with equal veneration. In a village near my present residence, is a tree to which the villagers pay special honors, although I have never before seen it out of its native salt-water swamps, in which it abounds, from the Mergui Archipelago to the mouths of the Irrawaddy. It is nearly identical with descriptions of Ficus benjamina, and, like that, drops roots from the branches, which enter the ground, and become trunks as large as the parent; a power of which the pipal is wholly destitute, though possessed in so remarkable a manner by the banyan. If Fa-Hian's description of the tree he saw in Ceylon be correct, it was probably a F. benjamina, for that species is common in Southern Hindustan, and is planted there for its shade, as the banyan is at the North.

^{.†} Buchanania latifolia often figures in the writings of the Buddhists as a sacred tree. Six or seven centuries ago, when Narapadisethu, king of Pugan, was passing down this coast, with a fleet of eight hundred thousand boats, on reaching the mouth of Tavoy river, by some superhuman power, they all stood still, and would not move any farther. The king went on shore at Tavoypoint, to ascertain the cause, and found, in a Buchanania latifolia, a little box containing a tooth of Gautama.

 $[^]a$ The Pali character that Turnour and others render by ss, represents both s and sy, in Sanskrit. It is sometimes written by doubling the s, but usually otherwise, and is never pronounced ss in this country.

Then men, devas and bramhas rejoiced, and adoringly exclaimed: 'Namo tasya Bhagavato arahato samma sambuddhasya,'* i. e. 'Glory to this Bhagavat, worthy of worship, perfect in knowledge.'"

They then asked him for instruction, and he preached to them the *Mulamuli*, because, he said, it was best adapted to

the degree of knowledge possessed by his hearers.

Intangeyyasangasi and Pusangeyyasangasi, the two creators, saw the glory that enlightened the ten thousand systems, and came to the Buddha to make inquiries. He told them that they existed at the beginning, before men, and made the world, and that their merit was great. This intelligence was quite new to them, but they received it with great joy, and worshipping the Buddha, expressed a desire to be like him. He replied that, if devas and men wished to be like him, they must make his image and worship it.

When Tikkhagga was about to take *nirvana*, men, devas and bramhas requested him to establish his religion, and "he established it for five thousand years, and appointed, as objects of worship, the Law, the Church, and the Substitute for Buddha, his image." He then declared: "He who worships the Buddha, shall have great glory; he who worships the Law, shall have much knowledge; and he who worships

the Church, shall have much wealth and pleasure."

^{*} This Pali sentence is written at the commencement of every Buddhist book, Pali, Burman and Talaing, that I have ever seen; and it is, I believe, equally common in Tai books; but I never before met with any account of its origin, and the natives are so ignorant of the grammar of the language in which it is written, that they usually render, in the first person: "I worship." This is the rendering given in the Laws of Manu, translated from the Burman a few years ago; although Burnouf and Lassen's accurate Latin version had been before the public nearly a quarter of a century: "Adoratio huic Bhagavat (domino) arhat (venerando) completo intelligendi." I render namo by glory, rather than by worship, because for the verb to worship, in the closing sentence of the book, puja is used, Sanskrit pûja, which more accurately denotes that; while the verb nama, in Pali as well as Sanskrit, is more used in the signification to bow, to pay obeisance.